



## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

theoretically prepared in the best way; otherwise he will not be able to perform properly assignments given to him by the Command of the organization. It is clear to everyone that the compilation of the proper instruction book is the first and most important measure for the correction of existing conditions.

Second, the training courses lately organized by various cells of our organization are not always satisfactory; as a result, ideological errors and free interpretation of various problems are frequent. Such a situation can only be revised by making a single manual obligatory for the entire organization.

A third reason for issuing this book is its possible value as a self-training manual.

The fourth reason is constituted by a great demand for theoretically prepared personnel, since the basic form of our struggle, under present conditions, is political-propagandistic activity. Therefore, the necessity of ideological-political training of members of the underground movement is very great. Without this training, the instruction of the OUN that every member of the OUN and every underground worker or insurrectionist must be a propagandist cannot be practically fulfilled. All this requires us to consider publication of the proper manual as not only essential but imperative. Only the difficult conditions of our struggle delayed its earlier issuance.

The manual Road to Freedom comprises four parts:

1. Catechism of the Ukrainian nationalist
2. Study of the Ukraine
3. Brief information on ideology, policy, and history of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism
4. Brief information on the Bolshevik system of oppression and exploitation

The manual gives all the most necessary information which must be known to every member of the OUN. We offer this manual to our friends with a request: Raise our ideological-political level! Raise our ideological-political preparedness! Having our weapons ready, let us use every spare minute for training ourselves. This is required of us today by the needs of our revolutionary struggle; this is required of us today by the Ukraine! The higher our ideological level, and the more friends acquire this brief manual, the more certain will be our victory.

November 1949

BRIEF INFORMATION ON THE IDEOLOGY, POLICY AND HISTORY  
OF UKRAINIAN REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

The OUN is a political organization which unites us, its members, on the basis of our common viewpoints regarding the most essential forms of social life, the objectives of our struggle, and the methods to be employed in this struggle. These views, taken jointly, usually form an ideology. Consequently, our ideology is the principal factor which binds us, members of the OUN, into a single fighting association, if only on a voluntary basis, but, nevertheless, tightly drawn together. Our ideology is also the decisive factor due to which we accepted the name of nationalists; it is the distinction which creates our ideological-political difference from other Ukrainian and foreign parties.

This ideology has also another very important significance: it is our theoretical weapon in the struggle against all our enemies and adversaries. In order to defeat our enemies physically in armed struggle, we have preliminarily to overcome them ideologically; we must undermine the influence of their ideology among the Ukrainian masses and implant our own ideas. This may be done only if we, members of the OUN, and all participants in the underground movement, are well prepared ideologically.

Therefore, ideological preparedness of the cadres of our movement has a paramount significance for our organization. By improving our ideological preparedness, that is, by increasing the knowledge of our ideas, our program, our policy and history, we strengthen still further the monolithic nature and ideological unification of our organization and prepare ourselves for still more successful participation in our political-propagandistic activity. Therefore, the slogan: "Raise our ideological preparedness!" must be realized to its full extent.

#### WHY DO WE CALL OURSELVES NATIONALISTS?

Our movement is a nationalistic movement, and our organization is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. We call ourselves nationalists because, first of all, the basis, the cornerstone of our ideology is our conception of the nation and national state. In the second place, we call ourselves nationalists because, in our struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State as well as in our everyday life, we are guided by a single most important slogan: "The welfare of the Ukrainian nation is the supreme law."

The most characteristic feature of our conception of the world is the fact that we consider the nations in it as a natural phenomenon of mankind, the highest form of human society, and we recognize their historical significance. The most characteristic feature of our activity, our way of thinking, and our hearts and souls is the subordination of everything, and primarily our personal life, to the interests of the Ukrainian people: the struggle for their freedom, happiness, and glory.

Here we briefly describe: (1) our concept of the nation, (2) our concept of the national state and (3) our interpretation of the slogan: "The welfare of the Ukrainian nation is the supreme law."

#### 1. Our Concept of the Nation

Our concept of the nation in the shortest form was interpreted in the ideological theses of the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, which took place in Vienna in 1929. The fourth paragraph of one of these theses states: "The nation is the highest type of organic human community which, in spite of its greatest psychological and social diversity, has its own inner form created on the basis of similar natural position, common historical destiny, and an incessant tendency to realize this form by all means."

Here, we will try to clarify better this brief definition by answering the following questions:

- I. Why is the nation not an ordinary but a special community, the highest form of organic human association?
- II. How have nations been created?
- III. Psychological and social differences inside of the nation.
- IV. Who is embraced by the concept of nation?
- V. When may the people be annihilated?

#### I. Why is the nation not an ordinary but a special community, the highest form of organic human association?

According to the accepted definition of the nation, the latter is the highest form of organic human association. An association is a certain group of people who are united by certain relations. There are various associations in existence. Members of sport fellowships, youth organizations or political parties, soldiers of armies also form associations because they are united by certain organizational relations, certain common aims, and certain interests and viewpoints. It is quite clear that a great difference exists between an association established by the members of a sport fellowship and an association which represents a whole people, a nation.

First, these differences are determined by number, intensity, permanence, and quality of relations which unite the members of each organization. Compared with the organization known as the nation, the number of relations among the members of a sport fellowship are considerably less; they are much weaker, less permanent, and, in many cases, of an entirely different nature.

Second, each of these organizations originated differently. For instance, the sport fellowship was formed as the result of a voluntary decision by its members. By a similar decision, it may be dissolved at any time. But a nation, obviously, was not created by this or that voluntary decision of the people; it was formed independently from the people, as a result of historical development during many hundreds or thousands of years. No decision can dissolve the nation as a people's association. At present, all individuals are born, irrespective of their wish, as sons of a certain people; and even if someone renounces his nationality and joins people of another nation, just the same his origin will be a constant reminder to himself and to others that he is the son of a strange people and that he is a renegade. Therefore, the nation is not any ordinary human organization but it is a special type of human association. Taking into consideration the number, intensity, permanence, and qualities of relations which bind the members of a people together, and also considering the conditions of the people's origin, we define nations as organic associations. The word "organic" implies that nations are organizations powerfully welded together, organizations which in many cases merely represent a single undivided living organism, and that they are formed naturally. In contrast with this, such organizations as, for instance, a sport fellowship, are artificial associations.

What are those bonds or relations which bind the people so tightly into the highest type of organic human association?

1. Language. The importance of the language is extremely great for a people. The Ukrainian language is the feature which permits one to identify a Ukrainian among strangers in the easiest way, the feature which most of all distinguishes Ukrainians from other nationalities. It is the most clearly expressed feature which unifies us Ukrainians into a single commonwealth. Common language was the first means by which Ukrainian tribes recognized each other as related peoples and by which they identified Poles as foreigners. Each individual learns to talk in his native language and the native speech is the easiest to understand. Songs, legends and literature, created in the native language of the people, also contribute greatly to their unification. It is true that in certain cases entire peoples lose their language or have no language of their own at all but, nevertheless, consider themselves as separate nations. Ireland and the U.S.A. are examples of such nations. Sometimes the Irish language was almost entirely extinct in Ireland; however, Irishmen always considered themselves as a separate people and always vigorously struggled for their independence. Americans also consider themselves as a nation, although they represent a mixture of emigrants from various European countries and speak English. But such cases are exceptional. The general rule is that there cannot be a people without its own language. Therefore, our present effort to convince all Ukrainians to use only the Ukrainian language actually is a struggle for the existence of the Ukrainian people.
2. Territory. The territory is also of great importance to the people. It plays an important role as a uniting factor because it makes it possible for the people to live together in a single unseparated mass. Such an environment is a certain preliminary condition for the people to form a separate nation. Living in the same territory for a long time, individuals become attached to it and begin to love it. Thus, the initial form of patriotism arises. Love for a native land, hence the concept of fatherland, originates; the native country is more beautiful and more beloved than any other country. The consciousness that we have our own native land, our attachment to this land, to

its fields, forests, rivers, mountains, to its nature, the love for our fatherland--are they not those feelings which tightly bind individuals together, thus unifying them into a single people? Are they not those feelings without which the existence of the Ukrainian people cannot even be imagined today? Having their own territory, the people always strive to control it, and endeavor to be master over this territory. Thus, originates the desire for an independent state. Upon building their own state, the people attain the possibility for the development of their national features, and for the realization of their talents and creative forces. Then, the process of national formation, the feeling of national consciousness and unification reach the highest level. Without the territory, however, all these factors would be very weak. The nature of the native country has a strong effect on the character of the people. It is generally known that the people of each country have certain features peculiar to their own group. These characteristic features distinguish peoples of various groups and, at the same time, bring closer the members of the same group. Finally, the territory is a basis for the biological existence of the people, the foundation of our life as human beings: it feeds us, we build our dwellings and settlements on it, we owe our clothes to it, and we use its various natural resources. A group of people deprived of its territory is in danger of complete national annihilation.

3. Similarity of character. Certain attributes of character are common to each people, as for example, in their psychological disposition. These attributes are peculiar only to a particular people. They are revealed in the culture of this people, in national establishments, in every national custom. These attributes distinguish one people from another, but, on the other hand, they draw together the members of the same national association. Psychological features are so deeply implanted in members of the same national group that they are transmitted through heredity. The combination of these psychological traits, inherent in the majority of a given people, is exactly what we define as a national attribute. The well-known French investigator of this subject, Le Bon, makes the following, undoubtedly correct, statement in his work Psychology of Peoples:

Development:

"As a result of my numerous journeys in various countries, I have acquired a very clear conviction that each people has its own intellectual frame, as permanent as its anatomical; this frame is revealed in its feelings, thoughts, institutions, beliefs, and art."

And further:

"Moral and intellectual features, creating by their combination the people's soul, represent a synthesis of the entire past of the people, the inheritance of its ancestors. It seems that certain deviations sometimes happen in individual representatives of the same people, but more attentive observations show that the majority of this very same people always have a certain number of common psychic traits, as permanent as are the anatomical features, which are transmitted always and invariably from generation to generation.

"The combination of psychic traits common to all individuals of a given people determines the so-called national character and also outlines an average type which is peculiar to this people. A thousand Frenchmen, a thousand Englishmen, and a thousand Chinese taken at random will have certain considerable

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differences, but, nevertheless, they reveal hereditary features which permit one to describe the types of French, English, and Chinese peoples...."

To illustrate how people's traits differ in the eyes of a foreigner, the following are the characteristics ascribed to Ukrainians by a Polish ethnographer:

"The Ukrainians are the most intelligent people among all Eastern Slavic peoples. They are more individual than the Russians and stubbornly strive for economic independence...."

"One of the characteristic traits of the Ukrainians is their determination, which often turns into obstinacy and persistence. A Ukrainian likes to live alone, although he mostly lives in villages. The Ukrainians are naturally gifted with artistic taste and musical talents...."

"Ukrainian villages differ from those of Russians to such an extent that it seems that thousands of kilometers separate these two peoples. A clean tidy room and a flower-garden in front of the windows are the pride of each Ukrainian housewife...." (Land and People; edited by Professor G. Moscicki, Warsaw, 1933).

Differences in the national characters of various peoples sometimes are so fine that they are very difficult for an inexperienced observer to detect, but they always exist, and are revealed in various forms. Neither physical separation from one's own people nor conscious renunciation remove or change these traits. They may disappear only after a sufficiently long absence from the native country, for example, several centuries of continuous association with foreigners on a friendly basis.

The following example may illustrate some of the above statements: It is well-known that N. Gogol was a Ukrainian only in origin; otherwise he was a Russian; he wrote in Russian, was a Russian patriot, and a Russian in all his consciousness. Nevertheless, his Ukrainian extraction caused all his masterpieces to be saturated with Ukrainian spirit, and his creative power reflects the nature of a Ukrainian individual. Ivan Franko characterized the creative trend of N. Gogol by comparing him with M. Saltykov Shchedrin:

"The first satirist after Gogol in Russian literature, he differs by the nature of his humor and pattern of his satire so radically as only the nature of the Ukrainian is different from the nature of the Russian. More humane, the Russian humor remains sad and tart even when filled with loud laughing, and anger is shown in Russian humor when in the Ukrainian tears are seen through the laughter...."

4. National habits and customs.

In the course of living together for long periods, sometimes thousands of years, a people creates a great many habits and customs which are peculiar only to them. Various social and religious events and rites, methods for their celebration, customs of family, society, and community life; these elements of life are firmly established in many nations. A great many of such habits and customs have been created by us, the Ukrainians, in spite of the fact that we did not enjoy a common life for centuries because of our defeat by invaders. These habits and customs tightly bind us together.

5. Common historical destiny; common historical traditions.

Let us imagine that we, Ukrainians, have no past history of the Ukrainian State with its struggle for unification of the Ukrainian tribes, its struggle against nomads and neighbors; that we have no past history of the Cossacks and the struggle for liberation of the Ukraine, and for the independent Ukrainian State, with its glorious insurrection under the leadership of B. Khmelnytsky; that we have no past account of the 1917-1920 liberation struggle, the liberation struggle against the occupants after 1920 until

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the present time. In that case, how faint would be the feeling that we Ukrainians are a separate people! We may even have doubts that such a consciousness would exist at all, since only the struggle for a common cause, common efforts, common endeavors tie together a people and its generations with strong, although invisible at first sight, threads. The historical tradition, the history of common endeavors, unify people into a nation in the same way as a common language and a jointly inhabited territory.

To an extent no less than is done by political history, people are tied together by their culture. It is generally known how greatly important for us Ukrainians are our folk songs, what a great role T. Shevchenko's *Kobzar* and, for that matter, all Ukrainian literature have in our life. Without them, our ties as a single people would be considerably less than they are at the present.

6. National consciousness.

There is one certain prerequisite for making our historical, political, and cultural traditions serve as a binding national factor: our people must know their political history and culture. People who possess such a knowledge can be said to be nationally conscious. National consciousness has a decisive significance for the existence of the people. Without national consciousness the people, in the actual meaning of the term, cannot exist. Well aware of this, conquerors always try to withhold from the people the knowledge of its history; they always attempt to distort, by all means, this history to prevent the penetration of the truth about the people's past to the popular masses. This is exactly what the Bolsheviks are doing now in regard to the history of the Ukrainian people.

7. National ideals and the struggle for their realization.

Such ideals, such efforts always convert people into a single united association, bring the people onto an historical stage, and make an historical subject out of this people. In striving for the realization of their ideals, the people always desire advancement, always have certain national aims, and find enough power for active struggle to reach these aims. Only then, the people live; only then is it a real people. These are the principal relations or ties which bind people into a single organic association.

Some of these ties are not solely factors which bind the members of a given people, but also appear in the role of factors which do form the people. This refers, for example, to the territory, national ideals, and struggle for them, and to the political and cultural history in general. For instance, the territory, as was briefly mentioned before, has a certain effect on the people's spiritual life. Our historical past not only binds us, the Ukrainians, together, but also has left a considerable trace on our national face and our contemporary ideals. The same may be also said about our national ideals: they are not only a binding factor, but also have a certain effect on our formation as a separate people.

Besides the above described relations, each people may be recognized by certain peculiar traits of physical build and physical appearance. Scientifically it has been proved that, for instance, the Ukrainians have certain characteristic traits in their physical appearance, the Russians have other traits and the Germans still different ones. According to data of anthropology (the science of human physical features), most Ukrainians have dark hair and eyes, a straight and narrow nose, an oblong face, the highest skull among the neighboring peoples, great stature, short arms, and long legs.

This racial-anthropological differentiation of mankind, differentiation due to physical features, has resulted from the fact that human beings are subject to variability and heredity similarly to animals and plants. A Soviet anthropologist discusses this phenomenon in the Small Soviet Encyclopedia as follows:

"...Similarly to other animals, a human is subject to variability which is revealed, first of all, in the existence of the various types of mankind. The formation of the main racial categories of mankind took place very long ago. In contrast to other animals, human beings have developed in respect to their adaptability to environment. However, the adaptability itself is under the influence of deliberately guided working activity based on helpful use of implements invented and developed by man. This self-adjustment of human beings brought mankind to a particular variability, resulting in wide racial diversity. A certain similarity to these conditions may be observed among domestic animals, which are also under the influence of an artificial environment created by man.

"Separate races are arising among themselves all the time, thus creating new descendants. This racial merging is always on the increase, because of the development of communications between separate parts of the world, resulting in commercial intercourse between distant regions and migration of their population. Thus, new racial formations appear and new complex racial features originate...."

Listing the most essential physical features which may characterize human races, the above-mentioned anthropologist points out the hereditary nature of these features:

"...for example, descendants of the Chinese in general reproduce the type of their progenitors, even when transferred into different environments. The same is true of the Negroes, the Western Europeans, the Australians, and other definitely established types."

Thus, the nations, as we see them, are really a particular type of human association. No other organization is united by the relations and ties which characterize nations. Owing to such numerous, powerful, and permanent relations among its members, a nation is considered as the highest type of organic human association. There is no organization in the whole world welded together more vigorously than a nation.

## II. How have nations been created?

First, it should be noticed that in most cases we are dealing with peoples who originated and were properly organized long ago. The only exception appears to be the peoples of the countries of so-called new colonization, particularly, the peoples of America. There, the process of forming new peoples now continues; this process is based on the mixture of immigrants of various nationalities. This formation process is usually characterized by the predominance of a single people, as for instance, the English in North America, and the Spanish and the Portuguese in South and Central America; by the mixture of immigrants with natives (mostly in South America); and by common political and economic interests. This process, entirely peculiar to the newer countries, takes place under specific conditions. The formation process of so-called old nations, as for example, the peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa, was somewhat different. Because of the fact that old nations represent the overwhelming majority of the world's peoples, we consider this process as a typical one.

The following is a simplified representation of the process. Many thousands of years ago the world's population, owing to its numerical growth, had to migrate and settle down in new geographical areas, under new natural-geographical conditions. These new conditions caused considerable, sometimes hardly noticeable, changes in the physical features and character traits of the people, but at the same time these features and traits became common and peculiar to those people who lived together under similar conditions, and, in the course of thousands of years, became hereditary. Further, those groups of people who lived most closely together created a common language and common customs, developed affections towards their land and similar people, and required certain common interests.

In the case of the conquest of one tribe by another stronger tribe, either complete physical annihilation of the conquered people took place or their assimilation with the conqueror occurred, and, as a result, new physical



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and psychic features appeared and new complexes of human features were created. This was the manner in which the various tribes originated. Neighboring tribes, in the presence of certain conditions (especially when one of the tribes attained a proper stage of political and economic development), usually united, and thus created a people. Further historical development continued to strengthen relations among the tribes within a group of people.

It must be noticed that for the unification of separate tribes into a single people the most essential, decisive significance was attached to the fact that all these tribes had many things in common, such as language, customs, and affection for their land. All other factors, as for example, the attainment of a proper level in political and civilized development and a proper level of economic life, had only a secondary significance. Quite a few historical cases show that even though, for certain reasons, similar tribes could not unite all at once, even though they were forced to live separately under different political and often even different economic and cultural conditions, they remained a definite part of the people to which they actually belonged. The following examples illustrate such cases: the Transcarpathian Ukrainians and the rest of the Ukrainian people; the Austrian Germans together with the rest of the German people; the Germans of various German and Austrian countries before the unification of Germany; and the Germans, French, and Italians in Switzerland. Thus, in the initial stage of their development, peoples and nations are the products of the process of the differentiation of mankind.

One may observe from the two foregoing paragraphs that national groups have originated naturally regardless of people and their conscious activity. Some of their common traits, such as language, customs, and habits, appear to result from a people's creative ability. Others, as for example, affection for one's own land and own people and the dislike of anything strange, have to be considered as natural human qualities. Consequently, here we deal, on the one hand, with laws of human society, since people may develop affection towards similar people only in common life; and, on the other hand, with natural qualities of human character and the human soul. Still other features, such as common traits in human character, appear, first of all, due to the fact that a constant influence of natural environment, work, and trend of life leaves its impression not only on the physical appearance of human beings, but also on their intellectual structure; and, second, due to the biological capacity of humans to transfer these traits hereditarily. Here we see the effect of biological-psychic laws. Finally, specific traits of physical structure and appearance result from the subordination of mankind, as a constituent of living nature, to such biological laws as variability and inheritance. Therefore, it may be concluded that the process of differentiation continues regardless of human will or action. It proceeds exclusively from certain laws of human society, specific features of human character, and from biological laws peculiar to the entire living world.

The process of human differentiation on the principle of intellectual and racial-anthropological unification is very slow and, therefore, unnoticeable by human beings. However, this process, proceeding constantly and continuously, is as perpetual as mankind itself. Moreover, this process stands above the people. Separate nations may perish or in some other way disappear from the historical stage, but the process of differentiation continues to function during all periods of mankind's history. The process of formation of peoples in the countries of so-called new colonization, which still continues, is nothing other than the result of this constantly proceeding psychic and racial-anthropological differentiation of mankind.

However, all the attributes which characterize a people are not sufficient to consider a given people as a nation, as a people in the full sense of this word. In the course of historical development, the concept of a people acquired a certain definite meaning. Only that people is considered as a mature people, for example, which has struggled for its national aims in the past, which has a certain political and historical background, and which at present has certain political ideals and conducts a struggle for their realization. Otherwise, a people is not considered as a nation, but only as a certain ethnographic group. Thus, as we see, in order for a certain human association to become a nation, it must have

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historical, political, and cultural traditions, national consciousness, national ideals, and must have struggled for their realization. We nationalists consider them as most essential for the existence of our people.

As has already been explained, the nation is a result of the natural process of spiritual and physical differentiation of mankind, the process which proceeds independently of the people; and, on the other hand, it is a product of historical development in which human beings take a conscious part.

It is very important to understand correctly the relation between these two forms or stages of a people's existence. As the people cannot exist as a nation without historical traditions, national consciousness, and the struggle for national ideals; so no national consciousness or ideals may be originated without an ethnographic mass, for example, the people in the initial stage of its development. First, the people must be formed as an ethnographic association, and the origin of this association does not depend on humans, being a result of the natural process of human differentiation. The combination of all relations which bind members of the same people into a single organic association is defined, in our concept of a nation, as a single inner form, which is created on the basis of similar natural location, common historical destiny, and incessant striving for existence with all possible efforts; the latter activity being denoted as a constant struggle of the people for the realization of its ideals, whereas these ideals usually correspond to the possibilities and strength of the people and reflect the people's desires.

### III. Psychological and social differences within the nation.

It would be erroneous to accept a nation as something absolutely uniform and whole. Considerable differences usually occur within the same people. First of all, there are psychological differences. It is well known that there are no two individuals entirely similar in character. It is known, for example, how different are phlegmatic and sanguine types of humans. Obviously, the phlegmatic and sanguine types of individuals occur among the members of the same people. There are also certain psychological differences between a farmer and a city dweller, a laborer and an intellectual worker. However, in spite of all these differences, the majority of the members of a given people possess certain common traits in their nature, which comprise a common national character. Regardless of existing differences in their temperaments and nature, the members of a given people, for the most part, occupy a similar position towards problems of national significance and attempt to solve these problems in the spirit of common national interests.

Further, in every nation social differences arise owing to the existence of separate social classes and groups which actually have separate aims and interests. This differentiation takes place especially among those peoples which have such classes as landlords, large-scale industrialists, bankers, and merchants. Peasants, workmen, and intellectual workers may have their own interests too. However, in comparison with the national interests of the whole people, these separate class interests have only secondary significance. The strongest feeling, which has always united and now unites individuals among themselves, is the national feeling. The same ideals for which a great many people in the whole world are ready to fight and die are the national ideals: the freedom and independence of peoples, their happiness, their might, their glory. In case of a menace to the independence of a people, all social classes and groups rise jointly for its defense. Psychological and social differences, thus, are considerably weaker than the ties and relations which unite people into a nation, and that is again why a nation is the highest type of human association.

### IV. Who is embraced by the concept of a nation?

The concept of a nation includes not only people presently living, but also past and future generations. A nation must be considered on the basis of its history. The members of a nation are even those people who, for certain reasons, have to live abroad far away from their native country and their own people. This is the way a nation was considered by Shevchenko, who addressed the Ukrainian people in his immortal

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Message as follows: "To my countrymen in the Ukraine and outside of the Ukraine, dead and living and not born yet, my message is intended."

V. When may a people be annihilated?

It is not difficult to answer this question after everything that has been said about a people. In the political sense of this word, a people ceases its existence when: a) it has no national ideals and does not struggle actively for them and b) its national consciousness has disappeared. In this case, a people is representative only of a weak-willed, passive **ethnological** mass. However, even under these circumstances it is possible that, given certain favorable conditions, a people will revive; it will recover its national consciousness, will establish certain national ideals, and will begin an active struggle for their realization. In other words, there are always possibilities for a people to be re-established in active political life. On the whole, a people ceases its existence when its members are completely exterminated physically or entirely assimilated under the influence of another people. Therefore, all occupants strive not only for the elimination of the national inhabitants in a political sense, but also attempt to completely annihilate them, as, for example, by complete physical extermination or complete assimilation. This is exactly what the Bolshevik plunderers from Moscow are trying to achieve. Thus, our liberation struggle against the Bolsheviks is not only a struggle for the existence of the Ukrainian people in the political sense, but also a struggle for our very physical existence.

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Our doctrine of a nation has been formed, first of all, in a struggle against imperialistic, antinationalistic views on a nation declared by ruling great nations, and, on the other hand, in a struggle against a false, antiscientific Marxist approach to this subject. Both viewpoints are directed against the interests of the people, especially against the interests of an enslaved people. Both viewpoints on a nation are also antiscientific and conflict with historical reality. The main purpose of major world powers is to maintain their dominance over other weaker nations, while in the case of the Marxists it is to decrease the significance of national problems, thus facilitating the realization of their Utopian vision of a world state without national subdivisions. In the hands of the Russian Bolsheviks, the Marxist theories of nations and socialistic revolution became solely a cover for their imperialistic predatory policy.

According to the views of the representatives of major world states, the national principle, division into nations, and the existence of various nations have no significance in the establishment of national boundaries. Before the first imperialistic war, such views prevailed among "scientists" of Germany, Austro-Hungary, and other great powers. They considered as nations only those peoples who had their own states. Stateless peoples under the rule of great powers were not nations at all, according to their interpretation, but merely ethnic groups. Peoples who lost their statehood long ago were defined as "nonhistorical" peoples and they were considered as incapable of organizing an independent state. They classify us, the Ukrainians, among these peoples contrary to our whole history.

In the eyes of the Russian-Tsarist imperialists, we Ukrainians never have been a separate people, but only a "Southern-Russian tribe" of a single Great Russian people, a tribe which has no right to state independence. The Austro-Hungarian imperialists tried to substantiate a necessity for the existence of the multinational Austro-Hungarian empire by the economic interests of the peoples of Central Europe. In their opinion, the disintegration of Austro-Hungary would mean a catastrophe for all of Europe. All the falseness of these theories is clear today.

In such countries as France, England, and the USA, national problems were almost of no interest. These countries, especially France and England, except for their colonies, have been in existence for many centuries as national states and there was simply no necessity for these countries to deal with national problems. Besides, these countries, subjugating under their rule numerous colonial peoples, obviously were against sincere recognition of the right of nations to independence, against recognition

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of the national principle as a basis for international order, and they also were and are now in favor of various imperialistic concepts beneficial to great powers.

The other enemy of the national principle is Marxism. "Proletarians have no country of their own"; "nationality, patriotism, and national interests are prejudices and superstitions," assert Marx and all his adherents. Thus, Marxism denies the right of nations to existence and proclaims a struggle against national sentiments and patriotism. According to Marx, the history of mankind does not reflect any struggle of peoples, but solely the struggle of classes. The working masses must get rid of their "national superstitions", and, by all means, devote themselves to the interests of a struggle against the wealthy exploiting classes, for social liberation. The aim of this struggle is the creation of the universal international state, in which division into separate peoples will be eliminated, and a single human community with a single language will be established. "Nations," according to Marxism, "are a 'historically transitional' phenomenon. They even originated during a transitional period, when feudalism gave way to capitalism. Consequently, just as nations did not exist in the past, they will not exist forever and will disappear in the future." Mankind itself in its development advances in this direction, according to Marx, and this factor is corroborated by a steady increase in the elimination of differences among separate peoples and a growth of closer relations among them.

The Marxist-Bolshevik concept of a nation is entirely false and quite contradictory to historical reality. We know about the existence of peoples since the very beginning of the written history of mankind. The ancient Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans obviously were separate peoples. Nobody can deny this fact. True, they were not similar to contemporary peoples, being in a very low stage of historical development, but nevertheless, they participated in historical events as separate intellectual and racial associations, and therefore must be considered as separate peoples. We observe the peoples also during the period of feudalism. The "theory" that nations originated during the disintegration of feudalism and the beginning of capitalism is entirely groundless. In our discourse on the concept of a nation, we have already described the process of the formation of peoples and outlined conditions for this process. Economics, or any social-economic formation, have no decisive significance in this process. What really happened during this transitional period was that the process of inner cementation took place among the European peoples, which were strongly and permanently settled in their territories, close to the state in which they are at the present time. World history is, first of all, the history of a struggle of the peoples with each other. (We nationalists do not support such a situation and consider it as a negative circumstance; but, unfortunately, this situation has always existed, and we have to recognize it for the sake of objective truth.) Peoples, not social classes, appear as the actors on the stage of world history. Class problems always have played and play now a secondary role in respect to national problems. The contemporary proletariat reveals national feelings in the same way as do all other social classes. Class contradictions always have been settled within separate groups of people. If the elimination of differences among peoples takes place, as indicated by Marx, it must be emphasized that during the last centuries the national consciousness of all peoples in the world has risen to a level where it has never been before. At present, there is no nation in the whole world which would voluntarily renounce the freedom of national development, which would not endeavor to secure the best conditions for a national existence, and which would willingly accept a national yoke.

The idea of the European Union or world superstate, which has been widely accepted lately, does not lead us to a fusion of nations at all. It solely signifies that certain nations, those of Western Europe particularly, are attempting with the aid of such political concept to preserve the best conditions for their national existence. In short, the whole past history as well as the events of our days entirely deny the Marxist-Bolshevik theory of a nation and, at the same time, completely substantiate our nationalistic theory.

The most evident denial of Marxist Bolshevik views on the nation may be seen in the results of all previous Bolshevik policy in the USSR. The Bolsheviks

did not achieve any essential success in creating a nationless society. On the contrary, in the attempt to secure the sympathies of the largest group in the USSR, the Russian people, they adopted the principles of Russian imperialism. Class slogans and socialistic ideas happened to be unsuccessful, and the Bolsheviks were forced to promote their policy under Russian national slogans. A certain success achieved by the Bolsheviks, seemingly on the basis of creating a new "Soviet individual", actually is nothing else but a successful Russification of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Although the Marxist theory is Utopian and unacceptable for the national idea, a considerable number of Ukrainian intellectual people fell under its influence at the end of the nineteenth century and during the first decades of the twentieth century. This influence prevailed with insignificant changes until the beginning of the thirties of our century, and still exists among the Ukrainian Bolsheviks and among people raised under Soviet conditions. This was chiefly owing to the fact that the Marxists promoted their antiscientific international concepts of nationalism together with the ideas of social-economic reconstruction of the hitherto existing capitalistic system, simultaneously with the ideas of the new socialistic social-economic order. Being enchanted by the social-economic ideas of socialism, the Ukrainian intellectual people accepted also all the false antinationalistic viewpoints of Marxism in respect to the problem of the nation and national state. Contributing to this situation were such factors as the weakness of the Ukrainian liberation movement during that period and the absence of Ukrainian nationalism among a considerable number of the Ukrainian intellectual people. All this was possibly owing to the stateless existence of the Ukrainian people for a long period. In addition, this group of the Ukrainian intelligentsia failed in the beginning to recognize that all international slogans in the mouths of the Russian Bolsheviks are merely phrases designated to cover their imperialistic plans. Obviously, in order to attract this segment of the Ukrainian population to the struggle for the independent Ukraine, it has been necessary first of all, to indoctrinate them in the proper concept of a nation.

However important, this was not the only problem which had to be solved. In general it was also imperative to give a strong theoretical basis to the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement. Only a proper objective concept of the nation and the national state could be considered as a basis for Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism. The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement properly understood the historical requirements, and, standing on a correct objective position in respect to the problem of the nation and the national state, created a strong and sound theoretical basis for its ideological and political development.

#### Our Concept of the National State

Our concept of the nation and national state has been formed in a struggle on two fronts: against various imperialistic views declared by representatives of great powers and against a Marxist approach to the problem of the state. The views of the representatives of great leading nations were based on open denial of the right of small peoples to maintain their own independent states.

Marxists have a different approach, trying to substantiate scientifically their antagonistic relation to a state. According to their views, a state always has been only a means of oppression in the hands of wealthy social classes. They have come to the conclusion that states must be destroyed; only then will mankind enjoy real happiness and freedom.

This concept of a state is entirely wrong. Their notion that, in the future, peoples will be able to exist without states is Utopian, fantastic, and has no realistic basis. The entire Marxist theory of a state is an attempt to consider history solely as a struggle of classes, an attempt to deny any significance of a state for the people and for mankind in general.

The state originated as a natural form of organization of clans in the beginning, tribes later, and peoples still later. A clan or a tribal organization is a prototype of the initial form of the state. But during the period of clans and sometimes of tribes, there was no division of population into classes of exploiters and exploited. This is not denied even by the Marxists. Therefore, it may be concluded that the state did not originate as a tool for the oppression of the economically weak classes by those of great wealth, but it is a result of a natural need to regulate life inside the community and to defend this community against outside enemies.

Hence, it was considerably later that the subdivision of the population into classes took place, and only from the time when a class society is formed may we consider the state as a means of class oppression. Ruling classes use the state organization not only for oppressing the working-class masses, but to a still greater extent they utilize it for conquering strange territories and for subjugation of other peoples. As a result of the predatory policy of the imperialists, multinational states were created.

A multinational state, together with simultaneously existing class subdivision of population, serves as a double means of oppression. First, it is used for social oppression of the working masses of its own people, and, second, the multinational state is an instrument for national oppression and exploitation of subjugated peoples.

Obviously, such states should not exist; they must be reconstructed first of all. Single-nation states must also be reconstructed if they serve in the hands of the ruling classes, for oppressing and exploiting the working masses. In order to live and progress, mankind must be organized and must develop a certain type of organization. There is no doubt of this. Only a system of free national states may be considered as a proper answer to this problem. Any other system, being in contradiction to the natural desires of mankind, would be impractical. A system of free national states of all peoples is not only the most fair solution of the problem of international relations, but also the most worldly, most realistic answer to this problem.

The establishment of free national states will eliminate, first of all, multinational states; hence, it will stop national oppression. Further, for taking the state out of the hands of ruling exploiting classes, the present social order must be reconstructed on the principles of a classless society. Then the nation will cease to be an instrument of oppression and become again what it was at the beginning of its existence, that is, a form of organization for the economic and cultural life of the people and for defense against outside enemies. This latter function might be completely eliminated, if an order could be established in the world abolishing the menace of attack of one country by another and at the same time establishing an international organization built on the principles of justice to repel such an attack if it should occur. As an organization of the internal economic and cultural life of the people, the nation cannot vanish and cannot be replaced by any other form of organization. The compulsory apparatus within the state might be brought to a minimum, being used only for securing an internal order. The national budget would not require any considerable sacrifice from the population, and all material and mental resources of the people could be utilized for its economic and cultural progress. However, all this is possible only in case the nation has complete assurance of its safety in respect to attacks from without. Unfortunately, at the present time we are far away from such conditions.

We nationalists assume that the independent national state is the only form of political organization which provides a people with the best conditions for the development of all its intellectual and material resources. Without its own national state, namely, a state created on the ethnographical territory of a given people, this people cannot progress universally. Moreover, without its own national state, a people is destined to perish. A stateless people is always forced to suffer hardships and exploitation from its enslavers, who, disregarding the slogans they use for self-coverage, always attempt the political, cultural, and sometimes even physical elimination of subjugated peoples. This is an exact situation which may be illustrated by the whole Ukrainian history and also by the history of other enslaved peoples. We Ukrainians were oppressed by Poland from the 14th to the 18th centuries, and by Tsarist Russia from the 18th to the 20th centuries. After 1920 we suffered at the hands of the Moscow Bolsheviks, the Poles, Rumanians, Czechs, Hungarians, and Germans; and now again, the Moscow Bolsheviks strive for our annihilation.

We nationalists, taking into consideration all the previous historical experience of the Ukrainian and other enslaved peoples, assume the independent national state to be the most essential condition for the existence and proper development of our people. We definitely reject and oppose the form of a state such as the Bolshevik USSR, which is merely a cover for Moscow-Bolshevik imperialism. We also reject all forms of the multinational state based on national oppression.



The idea of an independent national state also has its source in the deepest desires and national feelings of each people. Peoples desire to be masters of their own land and wish to be free. Such are the demands of their feelings of national honor, national pride, and patriotism. Peoples hate slavery and always strive for freedom. Real and full freedom may be obtained only through independent national states, which not only satisfy the interests and desires of separate peoples, but also, in the best way, serve the interests of all peoples together and all mankind.

We nationalists assume that the highest destination of all peoples of the world, taken together or separately, must be the widest possible development of the intellectual and material culture. The progress of mankind is really a sum of achievements of separate peoples. Contemporary culture would be higher and richer if all peoples, including those who have been or are now oppressed and subjugated, participated in the development of culture. This participation in the cultural process may give good results only when all peoples enjoy conditions for the maximum development of their ambitions and talents within their own countries, that is to say, when they live in their own independent national states. Thus, the system of free national states serves the interests of all mankind in respect to its cultural progress.

As we see, peoples and nations, being the products of the natural differentiation process as well as the products of historical development, are those precious values that mankind must protect by all means. The progress of mankind can be achieved neither through artificial forcible unification of peoples nor through the policy of recasting and fusing separate peoples into one whole, but solely by giving the peoples full freedom for their creative activity and development. Such conditions are possible only within the system of independent national states. Those who oppress and annihilate other peoples destroy the basis for the progress of mankind in general, and are not only the enemies of enslaved peoples but they are the enemies of all mankind. The USSR of today is just such a furious enemy of separate enslaved peoples and of all mankind.

We nationalists struggle for the system of free national states for all peoples of the world. The immediate task of our struggle is the realization of the everlasting dream of the Ukrainian people: establishment of the Ukrainian independent state on the Ukrainian ethnographic lands.

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The greatest obstacle to the liberation of the Ukrainian and other enslaved peoples and to the establishment of the system of free national states is imperialism. Strong countries always try to extend their influence, develop their significance in the world, and reveal their power by means of predatory imperialistic wars, occupation of foreign territories, and subjugation of other peoples. Imperialism and imperialistic wars are the greatest shame and evil of contemporary mankind.

Obviously, imperialism causes small and weak peoples to suffer to a very great extent. Imperialism is not only a political and cultural menace for small peoples, but it also endangers their very physical existence. The tragic fate of the Ukrainian people, in the course of its entire history, is a direct result of the imperialistic policy of stronger neighboring peoples. Therefore, small and weak peoples must strive for elimination of imperialism from international life and for establishing such conditions which would not permit strong nations to conduct imperialistic wars and predatory policies.

Imperialistic and predatory wars are a great misfortune even for imperialistic peoples themselves, since they always claim enormous sacrifices in human life and materials from the population. Sometimes a single war destroys the achievements of entire generations and whole centuries. Contemporary wars are very bloody because of great technical progress and because of a high national conscientiousness of all, including small and weak peoples. For several decades attempts have been made by advanced intellectual people in every nation toward eliminating imperialistic wars and creating preventive guarantees against them. But, because of the camouflaged opposition of imperialistic countries to the realization of such ideas, these attempts have so far produced no results and now, as always before, imperialism rules universally.

In the name of international justice, in the name of human progress, for the well-being of the Ukrainian and other peoples, we nationalists strive for the complete destruction of imperialism. First of all, we try to eliminate the most negative and malicious manifestations of imperialism--predatory wars and enslavement of small and weak peoples by large and strong nations.

Human beings differ from the rest of the organic world by their knowledge and by their reasoning ability. Knowledge and reason have made it possible for mankind to reach a high level of intellectual and material culture. Knowledge and reason have helped human beings create highly developed forms of social life and forced them to make laws against thieves, bandits and other anti-social elements. Because of their criminal nature bandits are not permitted to act freely. Reason and human consciousness must also lead to creating the proper cultural forms of international life and relations. This can and must be achieved, especially at the present, when relations among peoples are closer than ever before. Lately, more and more people are coming to the conclusion that imperialistic predatory wars must be disposed of as criminal and antisocial, as nothing but international banditism.

We nationalists endeavor to eliminate completely this international banditism and consider as necessary initial measures for this purpose: a) the destruction of the USSR as the most terrible jail of peoples, and the formation of independent national states by all peoples of the world; b) the creation of an international organization which would protect the system of free national states and which would have the ability and power to stop immediately any aggressive attempt of one nation against any other people. Such an international order would satisfy fully the interests of the Ukrainian people as well as the interests of all other peoples in the whole world, and also would serve the interests of international justice. Mankind, in the course of its further progress, will arrive at this point sooner or later.

However, we are in full understanding that the moment for establishing such an order in the world is still far away. We nationalists see ahead of us a long and persistent struggle for this order against imperialists of various kinds, and, first of all, an unyielding struggle against the Moscow-Bolshevist imperialism. We, with our just and advanced ideas, will triumph in this struggle.

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Today, as well as twenty years ago, our concept of the nation and the national state is our most essential ideological-theoretical weapon. At present, as in the past, the representatives of the leading great nations develop various theories which are directed against the idea of free national states. Among such theories, not devoid in many cases of imperialistic meaning, may be considered, for example, the idea of a European Union, as it is propagated by West European countries, and the theory of a world superstate supported by the USA. Proceeding from the argument that economic cooperation among all peoples has become an urgent necessity in this day and age, the representatives of leading nations suggest theories for political organization of the world which are first and foremost advantageous to themselves, theories which permit them to preserve, at least to a certain degree, their previous dominating political and economic positions. Though, recognizing a necessity for close cooperation among peoples, we Ukrainian nationalists are opposed to such ~~concepts~~ of a world order which would cause enslaved peoples and countries to be further dependent politically and ~~economically~~. We Ukrainian nationalists consider that objectively there are no obstacles for establishing closest cooperation among peoples within the limits of the system of free national states. This system, realizing a desire of peoples for their national independence, would be the most stable system which, with the aid of a strong and just international organization, will be able to eliminate any international conflict.

Some of the Ukrainian intellectuals, mainly those among the Ukrainian Bolsheviks, are still under the influence of antiscientific Marxist-Bolshevist theories on the nation and national states. Besides corrupt elements, there are also honest individuals among the Ukrainian Bolsheviks. They still remain in the ranks of the Bolshevik Party only because, some time ago, they succumbed to the Bolshevik propaganda and accepted their false theories. Obviously, it is our task to open the eyes of these people to the false antiscientific character of Bolshevik theories in general, and particularly to their ideas on the national state. Our first step in this direction will be to snatch these people away from the Bolshevik class.



Thus, we, the Ukrainian nationalists, must carry out an ideological struggle on two fronts: against antinational theories often promoted by the representatives of leading great countries, and against false Marxist-Bolshevist theories. Armed with the right and sound ideology, we will continue this struggle courageously.

Our Slogan: "Prosperity for the Ukrainian Nation  
is the Supreme Law."

Our slogan "Prosperity for the Ukrainian nation is the supreme law" has a double meaning: ideological-political and ideological-moral. The ideological-political meaning of this slogan is seen by the fact that we, the nationalists, consider the Ukrainian people and their prosperity as the most essential of our national values. The prosperity of the Ukrainian people is the highest aim of our hopes, our struggle, and our life. To the prosperity of the Ukrainian people we subordinate the interests of every Ukrainian individual and also the interests of social groups and classes, since the wealth and happiness of individuals and groups hinge entirely upon the conditions in which the Ukrainian people live. The people and their prosperity are even more important than a state per se. The state by itself has no value for us; it is but a means for the betterment of the people. We struggle for an independent Ukrainian State, inasmuch as only an independent national state can provide the conditions required by the people for their universal development. If another form of political organization would take better care of the interests of our people, then, naturally, we would struggle for that other form of national organization. However, as long as there is no other form, and undoubtedly there never will be, we struggle for an independent Ukrainian State.

Practically, we define the "prosperity of the people" as follows: a) physical health of population; b) high, heroic morals of the Ukrainians; c) high level of the Ukrainian culture, and a high cultural level of the Ukrainian masses; d) the revelation of and development of the people's creative talents; e) high economic and cultural level of the country, together with high living standard of the popular masses; f) constant maximum readiness for defending the national independence. Under our present conditions of enslavement we consider the struggle for our national liberation as our immediate mission; to it we subordinate everything else.

The ideological-moral meaning of the slogan demands that we, the nationalists, always work only for the prosperity of the Ukrainian people, that we do nothing which could detract from their well-being. Every nationalist must adjust his everyday life to conform with this principle. Every nationalist must always determine for himself at the beginning of his work whether or not his action will serve to benefit his people. No difficulties can stop a real nationalist in work which is directed to the interests of the Ukrainian people and our struggle for national liberation. He must proceed with his task even under the threat of death. Our slogan "Prosperity for the Ukrainian nation is the supreme law" does not threaten any other nation since we attempt neither to conquer foreign territories nor to enslave other peoples. We, the Ukrainian nationalists, categorically reject imperialism.

We also struggle against chauvinism. While loving our own people and striving, first of all, after their prosperity, power, and glory, we, at the same time, praise and respect all other peoples of the world. We believe that the peoples of each nation must love and serve, first of all, their own people. In doing this, every individual not only fulfills his duties toward his own people, but also contributes, in the best manner, to the principle of man's progress. Thus, our slogan contains no trace of chauvinism or imperialism.

THE IDEA OF THE UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT UNITED STATE -  
THE HIGHEST AND FUNDAMENTAL IDEA OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM.  
WHAT IS ITS MEANING?

The First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists stated in its ideological decisions: "The primary task of the Ukrainians under their present conditions of political enslavement is the creation of such a political-lawful organization as the Ukrainian Independent Unified State." Realization of this idea is the most essential and fundamental aim of the OUN and the entire Ukrainian Nationalistic Movement. All other ideas have only secondary significance.

We, the Ukrainian nationalists, are struggling for the creation of a Ukrainian Independent Unified State because we understand that only in such a state can the Ukrainian people develop their intellectual and material resources to the fullest extent and live as really free, prosperous, and happy people. Under foreign rule the Ukrainian people always will suffer from oppression, humiliation, and economic exploitation, and will be annihilated in jails, concentration camps, and in exile.

The idea of the Ukrainian State means that we nationalists struggle for an order in which the Ukrainian people would be sole master in Ukrainian territory and our future independent state would serve only the interests of the Ukrainian people. Our future independent state will be Ukrainian not only in form but also in content, in domestic as well as foreign policy. We struggle against all forms of dependence of the Ukraine upon any other country. At the present time we struggle for separation and complete independence of the Ukraine from Bolshevik Russia. We know that stronger states always try to exploit other countries. We do not wish to be downtrodden by anybody and, therefore, struggle for the freedom and total independence of the Ukrainian State. We do not oppose cooperation with other nations, but are against forced relations, such as, for example, our union with Moscow forced on us by the Bolsheviks who have occupied our country with their troops. We wish to cooperate with other peoples, to enter into alliances with them, and to establish mutual understanding; but only on the basis of the entirely voluntary decision of the free Ukrainian people, on the basis of equality of peoples, and in conformity with the interests of the Ukrainian people. Cooperation on such a basis is possible only when the people have their own entirely independent national state.

Our idea of a united state would include all ethnographical Ukrainian lands, that is to say, those territories which are now or have recently been inhabited entirely or for the most part, by Ukrainians. Each Ukrainian has a right to live in his national state. No part of the Ukrainian territory must remain outside of the Ukrainian State. We will always endeavor to unite all Ukrainian people and territories within the boundaries of the national Ukrainian State.

#### WHY OUR MOVEMENT IS REVOLUTIONARY

The word "revolutionary" is generally used to define a movement which struggles for a basic change of the existing political and social order, and the establishment in its place of a new order based on entirely different principles. Such a movement, using the most effective methods which usually contradict existing laws, has often to be conducted through an underground forcible armed struggle. Our nationalistic movement is a truly revolutionary movement in regard to its purposes as well as its methods.

Why is our nationalistic movement a revolutionary movement in regard to its purposes?

1. We nationalists struggle for building the Ukrainian Independent United State on Ukrainian ethnographic territories. This means a radical change in the political arrangement which has hitherto existed in Eastern Europe. For many centuries the ruling power in the East has been represented by Poland or Russia. Today this role is played by Bolshevik Moscow. In the case of the formation of the Ukrainian Independent State, the Moscow imperialists will be thrown back from the Carpathian Mountains and northern shores of the Black Sea far to the northeast, beyond the line of the present southwest boundaries of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic). The Polish imperialists will be repulsed to the west, on the line of the Wieprz and San Rivers. In Eastern Europe, on the site of former Russian and Polish imperialism, instead of the present imperialistic USSR, a new political entity will arise--a Ukrainian State. With respect to the political system which has existed in Eastern Europe for so many centuries, this event will be really a deep radical revolution.
2. We nationalists struggle for creating in the future Ukrainian State a social-economic order which will be entirely different from

anything existing in other countries. In the great majority of contemporary states the capitalist system is definitely established. This system is based on the principle of freedom of economic activity and on the principle of private ownership of land, factories and plants, in trade and other enterprises. The organization of economic life along these lines brought into being, on the one hand, a wealthy class of large landlords, industrialists, bankers, and merchants; and, on the other hand, a large small-landed and landless peasantry and worker class (proletariat). There is a constant struggle between these two groups, and this internal struggle considerably weakens the whole nation. Contemporary France is an example of such a situation. We nationalists stand for the greatest possible unification of a people. We also stand for just distribution of the national wealth among all people. Since the capitalist system unavoidably leads a nation to great inequality in the wealth of individuals and, as a result, to an internal class struggle, we nationalists are against capitalism.

We are also against the political regime which exists now in the USSR. Under this regime the members of the Bolshevik Party actually form a new bourgeoisie. They may have everything they like, whereas the workers and members of collective farms live in grasping need.

We nationalists struggle for establishing such a social order in which there will be neither landlords, nor bourgeoisie, nor such parasites as contemporary Bolshevik magnates who enjoy their life while millions of people perish from starvation and tremble in fear of the MVD and MGB. We struggle for the greatest possible equality between peasants, workers, and the intelligentsia; for a classless society, that is for a society which will know neither wealthy nor poor members. This may be achieved only when: a) all mines, factories, plants, banks, railroads, and wholesale trade will be not in private hands but in the possession of all the people, under the control of the state, and b) real democracy is established in the state, namely, when the people through their representatives will be able to control the Ukrainian government. Because of the lack of control by the people over the Bolshevik government, the Bolsheviks are able to exploit the peasants and workers. We strive after conditions in the Ukrainian State under which the people would have real control over the distribution of the national wealth and over the material position of all social groups. Thus, our nationalist movement is also a revolutionary movement in respect to the social-economic objects of our struggle.

3. We nationalists also struggle for a spiritual regeneration of the Ukrainian people, that is for elimination of all those bad qualities which have been developed in our national nature because of a long existence in bondage, under the yoke of other nations. There are still a great many such negative traits in our national character.

A considerable portion of the Ukrainian people consider the whole Soviet Union, not just the Ukraine, as their native country and, therefore, they are ready to fight and die not for the Ukraine first of all, but for the Soviet Union. Most of such people are from the eastern regions. Thousands of the Ukrainians from the eastern regions died during the last war with the cry: "For our country, for Stalin!" Many eastern Ukrainians, being under the cultural influence of their oppressors, the Russians, despise the Ukrainian culture and consider it as a culture of low value. These people have no Ukrainian national pride. Often, some of the Ukrainians are indifferent to national affairs, being interested only in their private lives. The Ukrainians, having been enslaved for hundreds of years, sometimes lose entirely their sense of national dignity and are ready to serve their enemies. In short, there are still many slavish features in the nature of the Ukrainians. These negative features must be rooted completely out of the character of the Ukrainians if we wish to be a real people like other great nations. Instead of slavish inclinations we have to shape in the Ukrainian people the character of a free people with high national

consciousness, ready to fight and die only for the Ukraine--a freedom-loving character, firm against enemies, active, full of faith in their own strength and in the might of their own people. Regeneration of the character of the Ukrainian people is considered by the Ukrainian nationalists as a most essential problem. Ukrainian nationalists will always strive for this, another revolutionary feature of our movement.

Why is our movement a revolutionary movement in regard to its methods of struggle?

1. We believe that our task of building a Ukrainian Independent United State may be realized only by forcibly driving the occupants from our lands, by taking up arms against our enemies. We are constantly and thoroughly preparing ourselves for such an armed struggle with the occupants. We understand that to shorten the time of the occupation and to bring nearer the moment of our liberation, we must use every means to harass our enemy, and we must try constantly to destroy the occupants' manpower and material resources, to undermine their might. Thus, we use violence, physical battles with the enemy, as our basic method for struggling against the occupants, disregarding entirely the part that this method obviously contradicts the laws of the occupying country. We may temporarily restrict our violence or even bring it to a complete halt as the exigencies of the moment may demand, but, basically, we stand on the principle of an armed struggle against the occupants. Since the enemy subjugated us by force and keeps us enslaved by force, we can achieve our liberation only by force.

In order to inflict the greatest damage on the enemy and avoid, at the same time, his repressive measures, we employ the method of the underground movement: we form an underground organization and act in strictest secrecy.

The OUN rejects legal methods as a basis for waging a liberation struggle. We know that success in our movement is impossible if we keep our activities solely within the limits of the laws established by the occupants, since these laws have been drawn up solely to benefit them, and not the enslaved people. Besides, if we were to attain some success by legal activity, those achievements would be known to our enemies and could be easily eliminated by them.

The OUN rejects the viewpoint that the Ukrainian people must use only legal possibilities and try to develop peacefully in the fields of public education, economy, and culture. Several political parties in Galicia supported this viewpoint some time ago. However, nobody ever has obtained freedom without violent struggle and nobody ever will.

There is no practical possibility in the USSR for a liberating struggle other than the underground movement. If a struggle by legal methods could be imagined formerly in Poland, such a struggle is absolutely out of question today in the USSR. The historical merit of the OUN is that it has created a powerful underground organization which may successfully withstand Bolshevik imperialists.

2. We nationalists consider the Ukrainian people on Ukrainian territories as a basic force necessary for building the Ukrainian State, and therefore our main hope in a struggle for liberation is the power of the Ukrainian people itself. Nobody else will give real freedom to a subjugated people. Other countries will begin a war against the USSR only when this war will serve their own interests. Such a war may take place possibly only several decades from now. What would happen then to the Ukrainian cause, if we should not have conducted our present struggle? During that period the Bolsheviks would completely subjugate and assimilate the Ukrainians, and at the proper moment there simply would be nobody who would care for the Ukraine.

Emigrants from the Ukraine are not taken seriously abroad, unless they are backed up in their activity by the struggle of their own people at home. This struggle facilitates the efforts of emigrants for the liberation of the Ukraine and may interest other countries which might even agree to help, under proper conditions, a nation actively struggling for its freedom. The active struggle for liberation also contributes considerably to the development of national consciousness and revolutionary spirit in the people. This may be illustrated by the successful results which were attained from 1943 to 1945 by our movement in such backward parts of the Ukrainian territory as Polesie and Lemkivshchina (Lemkivtsi?). On the other hand, the lack of an active struggle weakens and even destroys national consciousness, as may be observed in villages and districts where our struggle is less active. For the enslaved people, national consciousness is a most essential factor; it is a basis for the existence of the people, a hope for a better future of the nation.

3. We nationalists organize and conduct a liberation struggle on the Ukrainian territory under any circumstances, disregarding such factors as who the occupants of our country are and whether the conditions for a struggle are easy or difficult. For instance, the conditions for an active liberation struggle in the Bolshevik USSR are most difficult. There are no worse conditions in the whole world. But disregarding these conditions, we stay in the Ukrainian territory with our people in order to struggle actively for our liberation. We nationalists and our organization never leave the Ukrainian people and territory, no matter what difficulties we encounter. Since 1939, when the Western Ukraine was occupied by the Bolsheviks, our organization has remained in the Ukraine as a single organized and active independent force. All other Ukrainian political parties had no ability to continue a struggle under such difficult conditions and were scattered. The leaders and members of these parties conducted no struggle or national activity at all during either the first Bolshevik or the first German occupation. Many of them were arrested by the Bolsheviks and were sent into exile or perished in jails. Before the second Bolshevik occupation, almost all of them escaped abroad. We nationalists do not retreat before the occupants: we fight them instead. We are committed to this fight by our national honor and pride. Each Ukrainian patriot must consider a struggle against the enemies of our national freedom as his duty and must not flee before these enemies. If today, in the sixth year of occupation of our country by the Bolsheviks, the Ukraine is far away as yet from complete subjugation by the enemy, if the strong and wide Ukrainian revolutionary movement still exists in the Ukrainian lands--all this is a result of the decision of our organization to continue an active liberation war on Ukrainian territory under any circumstances.
4. In outlining the objectives of our struggle, and in planning the future political order in the Ukrainian State, we nationalists take into consideration all the latest and advanced achievements of human thought and practice. We do not commit ourselves to the preservation of everything established before, but, on the contrary, we are ready to discard old forms of life, if they have proved to be imperfect and out of date, in order to make room for the newest, most advanced forms. Such, for example, is our view concerning a capitalistic social-economic order which is already outdated in Europe. In its place, we wish to build a new social-economic order, a classless society. However, before accepting any new idea, we thoroughly verify its usefulness for the Ukrainian people. We nationalists decisively reject ideas which contradict the interests of the Ukrainian people and state, their prosperity, and their sound development.
5. Our organization establishes very high moral requirements for its members. Only selected individuals may become members of the OUN. We nationalists assume that the success of any struggle is decided by the people, and is based primarily upon the ability of these people

to withstand and overcome any difficulty, by their courage, persistence, fanaticism, and idealism. Only individuals with such qualities are accepted as members of the OUN. There is no place in our organization for cowards or unstable people who are not ready for a sacrificial struggle for the liberation of the Ukraine.

The OUN demands from its members an absolute obedience to the orders and instructions of all leaders. A strict military discipline is maintained within the organization. We nationalists understand that discipline is a basic condition for the existence of any sound organization, an urgent prerequisite for the success of any struggle, and therefore we accept the strict discipline in our organization voluntarily and readily.

WHY DO WE DEFEND IN OUR STRUGGLE ON THE FORCES OF  
THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE ITSELF?

There is nothing in the world that might be obtained easily, without work or effort. As we work to obtain all necessities in our everyday life, we have to exert certain efforts to attain the liberation of our people. There is no historical example of any people who has been liberated without a struggle. The Greeks, the Serbians, and the Bulgarians attained their freedom from the Turkish yoke only after an active and heroic struggle. The Irish obtained their independence only as a result of a very long and stubborn struggle against England, a struggle which exacted great sacrifices from the little Irish people. India also staged an obstinate struggle for her liberation. Today the Jewish people have restored their own state after two thousand years of stateless existence. This restoration was possible solely because the Jews have recently adopted a method of active struggle for building their own state. They would never have succeeded in establishing the Jewish State in Palestine if they had continued to be inactive, as they were during many centuries.

Obviously, a struggle for liberation proceeds differently for various peoples. Certain peoples struggle longer than others; the conditions of struggle are much easier in some cases than in others. All depends upon the fighting power of the struggling peoples and their enemies. However, disregarding the form, duration, and intensity of a struggle, we have to recognize one thing as an inevitable factor: the necessity to struggle.

Thus, we rely on the power of the Ukrainian people itself, since we realize that freedom will not be achieved by itself, but that our people must struggle for it. This is the law of life: that only through a struggle may subjugated peoples obtain their freedom. Besides, only in a struggle does the nation grow and become stronger; only a struggle produces and increases the proper forces which are so necessary for obtaining freedom. With the proper forces, we consider a nationalistically conscious and politically developed people ready for the greatest sacrifices united by a strong and sound political organization capable of guiding a people's struggle for liberation, capable of leading the people to victory.

Obviously, various cases of struggle for freedom require different degrees of national consciousness and political development. Sometimes less conscious peoples and those with a weak political organization may attain liberation, whereas more conscious and better organized peoples fail in their attempts. Here, success depends also on the enemy's forces, to which corresponding forces of the struggling people must be opposed. A defeat results when a people's forces are insufficient, or when their introduction into a decisive struggle was not properly timed. A victory by less conscious peoples means that the forces of these peoples were sufficient for success under the prevailing conditions. Conversely, if more conscious peoples fail to succeed in their struggle, it follows that the forces of these peoples were not sufficiently large for the given conditions.

From 1918 to 1920, such small countries as Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland obtained independence mainly because of the fact that the people of these countries had national consciousness, were politically developed, and had an organization of political forces higher than ours. At that time,

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we relied very little on our own forces and did not pay much attention to their development; this was the chief cause of our defeat. All other factors, though sometimes essential, had no basic significance.

We must struggle today, when our most cruel enemies, the Russian-Bolshevik oppressors, try to suffocate, by all means, our national consciousness; attempt to root out any aspiration for independence; and ruthlessly suppress any manifestation of national-political life. Absence of a struggle would mean postponement of the movement of our liberation for many years, since in that case we would lose the possessions without which no liberation is possible, namely, our national-political consciousness and organized political forces. Thus, we rely on our own forces because only these forces decide and assure the liberation of an enslaved people, and because this is demanded by present conditions.

As a result of all previous hard experience, the Ukrainian people is convinced that liberation will not be given by somebody else, and we have to struggle for its realization. Orientation on foreign outside forces and/or a hope that freedom may be brought to us by other countries without our own struggle constitute a very poor basis for planning our liberation.

First, many countries may be entirely indifferent to the cause of our liberation. For example, England and the USA during the 1918 to 1921 period remained wholly indifferent to our liberation attempts.

Second, other countries may sacrifice us to their own interests. It must be always kept in mind that certain peoples are guided in their behavior solely by their own interests. Sometimes a certain country helps another country not because it sincerely wishes to help, but just with the purpose of creating an obstacle to the growth of its enemy. Unfortunately, such is the present situation in the whole world and its misinterpretation is a very poor policy. We must have a sober view of reality, rejecting any hope of help from other countries. The attitude of France toward our liberation attempts from 1918 to 1921 may serve as a good example of a nation which sacrifices another people to further its own interests. At that time, France was standing for a strong Russia as her possible ally against Germany. But at the same time, trying to insure herself against the possibility of an alliance between Russia and Germany, France supported, by all means, the idea of creating a strong Poland as a counterpoise to that alliance, and therefore was in strong opposition to an independent Ukraine, which, contrary to her plans, would weaken both Russia and Poland. This attitude on the part of France toward our struggle for freedom greatly contributed to our defeat from 1918 to 1921, and, later, France dearly paid for her blundering in the twenties by losing her independence during the period from 1940 to 1944 and her position as a great power among other countries.

Sometimes, relying on other countries merely results in changing the kind of enslavement. Thus, for example, in 1941, as a consequence of Hitler's so-called "liberation", only the oppressors and forms of oppression were changed in the Ukraine. In 1943-1944, as a result of Bolshevik "liberation" from the Hitlerites, the previous Russian-Bolshevik oppressor came back.

Thus, we rely on the forces of the Ukrainian people itself because we are convinced that nobody else will give us our freedom. We know that relying on forces from without predestines the cause of our liberation to failure, since other countries may use us to further their own interests and also may enslave us again.

But this attitude of ours does not mean at all that we reject any help by any ally; it does not signify that help to enslaved peoples from other nations is never possible. Such help is quite possible and has a great significance for enslaved peoples. For example, because of the aid of France, England, and the USA in 1918, the Czechs obtained their freedom after centuries of enslavement. Because of the same aid, Poland also attained her independence. We reject no allies; on the contrary, we look for them. However, in our search for allies, we do not rely exclusively upon them. We do not expect any favor, but seek aid which would stem from the mutual interests of both parties. While looking for allies, we simultaneously organize our own struggle, which facilitates our search for allies and our efforts to obtain necessary aid. We develop our own forces, since our strength helps us to find real



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allies, not protectors. Strong peoples always have allies; weak peoples have only protectors. We know very well the meaning of a protectorate over the people. The people hardly can expect any outside help without their own struggle for liberation. Without a struggle, the people may even be unknown abroad. The fact that before 1917 our struggle for liberation was very weak constituted a reason why other nations knew very little about us from 1917 to 1921, when we began a struggle for building our own state. At the same time, the other nations readily accepted fables issued by our enemies denying the existence of the Ukraine and Ukrainian people, and declaring the Ukraine to be an Austrian or German invention. Obviously under such conditions other countries did not consider aiding us; meanwhile, however, they helped the Poles, whose liberation insurrection was widely known. It was our struggle during the 1917-1921 period that disclosed the Ukraine to the whole world and led the Ukrainian people onto the international stage. Thus, we rely on the forces of the Ukrainian people itself because this permits us to find real allies and obtain necessary aid.

Favorable conditions appear to be a very essential factor in the struggle of enslaved peoples. They may considerably facilitate a struggle and make its successful conclusion possible. In 1917 the Ukrainian people received, because of the revolution in Russia, very favorable conditions for liberation but did not utilize them at the proper time. The leaders of that period did not bring the national consciousness and political development of the popular masses to a proper level and did not organize an army; in other words, they did not develop the forces of the people itself, and the Ukrainian State fell before the enemy's superior forces. On the other hand, in 1648 the Ukrainian people under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, in spite of extremely unfavorable conditions, defeated powerful Poland and established its own state, the Cossack Republic. This success was achieved by the Ukrainian people solely because its own forces were properly developed at that time. Thus, we rely on our own forces in order to be able to utilize each opportunity for the realization of our liberation endeavors, since we know that even the most favorable conditions are not sufficient for success without proper action.

In the course of history, the Ukrainian people has revealed unusual vitality. Even during the darkest period of its history, in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Ukrainian people not only did not cease to exist as a nation, but greatly increased in numbers and territory. At the present time, the Ukrainian people, in respect to its population, territory, and resources, belongs among the largest and most wealthy peoples of Europe. In the course of its entire history, the Ukrainian people has revealed great creative talents and freedom-loving sentiments and still reveals them today. The Ukrainians belong to the family of most cultural peoples. Thus, we rely on the forces of the Ukrainian people itself because we are convinced that our people possess all the prerequisites for obtaining its freedom and for occupying a proper place among other free and equal peoples.

WITH WHOM DO WE WISH TO COOPERATE?

We may cooperate only with those who do not deny our right to a free and independent state, who have no predatory intentions, and who do not force us to accept their "protectorate", which actually means another enslavement.

We wish to go along with all freedom-loving peoples of the world, because we strive for the closest collaboration based on volition, equality, and mutual respect. We wish to live in friendship with all free peoples and cooperate with them, because we assume that free national states and close friendship and cooperation among all peoples are the most just and powerful bases for a world order which may secure the conditions necessary for the further progress of all mankind.

We wish to go along with all enslaved peoples of the USSR: the Belorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Moldavians, Georgians, the people of Azerbaidzhan, of the Northern Caucasus and of the Volga River Area, and the peoples of the North, Siberia, and Central Asia. All these peoples share our fate; all of us have the same enemy and similar aims. On the basis of our similar conditions of life and full understanding of our mutual interests, we are developing today a real friendship for one another, which will become a basis for a common anti-Bolshevik front and a cornerstone of our relations after

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We wish to go along also with the Russian people; however, only on condition that the Russian people cease to be an instrument in the hands of the Bolshevik usurpers, that the Russian people conduct a struggle against the Bolshevik enslavers, and that the Russians build their state only in their own lands. These are all prerequisites for the closest cooperation, today and in the future, between us and the Russian working people.

We wish to go along with all peoples just recently subjugated, such as the peoples of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia. These peoples have already understood the real nature of Bolshevik "liberation", and their most anxious desire now is to shake off the Bolshevik yoke.

We have always been in favor of organizing a common struggle of all peoples of the USSR and of nations recently occupied by Bolshevik imperialists. During the German occupation we tried to organize a unified front of struggle against the Hitlerite and Bolshevik enslavers, both enemies of all freedom-loving peoples. We worked hard toward this goal: a wide political campaign was conducted, national detachments of the peoples of the USSR were organized in the UFA, and during the period of 21 to 23 November 1943 we called a Conference of Enslaved Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia. As a result of this activity, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Peoples (ABN) was organized in 1946. Peoples of the USSR as well as the peoples of recently occupied countries are represented in this organization.

We also wish to cooperate with all peoples beyond the boundaries of the USSR and its influence. Today, the peoples of Western Europe, America, Asia, and the whole world face the same peril which affected all peoples of the USSR thirty years ago: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in 1940; and the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe after the last war. We warn them against this danger and call them to a struggle against the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists. We know that this struggle is inevitable, and any delay will only result in increasing the sacrifices. The only proper action today is the creation of a common front of all peoples enslaved and threatened by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism.

WHO IS A REAL REVOLUTIONARY-NATIONALIST?

The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement (RUN) was initiated at the end of the nineteenth century. The program of the RUN already included many ideas which we may find now in the program of the OUN. However, the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement received its fundamental substantiation at the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, which took place in Vienna in 1929. Then, the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement was finally converted into an organized movement by the creation of the OUN. Since then, the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement has been developed in the Ukraine in two respects: as an ideological-political movement and as a revolutionary organized force.

The period from 1929 to the present time has been characterized by the rapid growth of Ukrainian nationalism. During these years, the ideas of Ukrainian nationalism have received wide recognition and a great many followers have joined the movement.

Who is a real revolutionary-nationalist? A real revolutionary-nationalist is an individual who recognizes all the ideas of Ukrainian nationalism, accepts its program, and struggles for the realization of these ideas in the ranks of the OUN.

We do not consider as real revolutionary-nationalists such individuals who, accepting our ideas, do not participate actively in the struggle for their realization. An organization with such members would represent only an ideological movement, not a political fighting force, capable of threatening our enemy and leading the people to victory.

We do not tolerate separate attempts of individuals to carry out a struggle of their own. Every real nationalist understands perfectly that a disorganized struggle never yields very good results, and, therefore, he willingly joins

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the OUN, readily submits himself to organizational discipline, and gladly executes all orders of the leaders.

The concept of Ukrainian nationalism embraces also those nationalists who only accept the ideas of nationalism, but do not fight for them. However, the highest type of nationalist is represented by those who actively struggle for the realization of the ideas of Ukrainian nationalism as members of the OUN. Each member of the OUN must be proud of himself, because he is the highest type of nationalist, and must try by all means to increase the membership of his organization.

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